

735 Native informants frequently bewail their poverty, and often lay much of the blame on Chilean townpeople. The following account, based on the commercial relations of Cautinche reduction with Chelchel, may be regarded as typical.

438 Cautinche is linked to Chelchel, which is ten kilometers distant in a straight line, by an ungraded dirt road. There are a number of small merchants in Chelchel, storekeepers, millers, liquor dealers, and others, who trade primarily with Indians. They buy farm produce and sell whatever merchandise the natives care to purchase. On occasions when a Mapuche's crops have failed he may get caught in an economic cycle which he does not understand and which usually reduces him to hopeless poverty. The reader should not forget that these statements were obtained from native residents of Cautinche, who tend to minimize their own faults and to emphasize the failings of the Chilean tradesmen. Nevertheless, there is probably much truth in their story.

426 When a farmer finds himself without sufficient seed for planting a new crop, he may borrow what he requires at ten per cent interest, due at the next harvest. The Araucanians complain that although the merchants often lend poor seed that matures badly or produces numerous weeds, they always insist on being repaid with selected, high-grade seed.

Another source of trouble is the custom locally known as *cacchar en seeds*, which signifies buying a green harvest. This refers to the practice of business men who send agents into the countryside each summer to buy up stands of growing crops or animals yet unborn. When an Indian enters into such a transaction he generally spends in a short time whatever cash he receives. By winter he finds that he has neither money nor food left for his family, and when spring comes he is forced to borrow seed in order to start a new crop.

273 There is also a standing complaint that in Chelchel practically every dealer keeps liquor on hand. When Araucanians

[240] to see, a yield that is hardly worth the effort of harvesting. Cooper (1946, pp. 499-506) provided a good summary of subsistence activities. See also London, 1949, pp. 247-441 and Marshall, 1950, pp. 19-20 and 121-43.

361 to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful
[624] of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would
[724] have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable.
By way of compromising a system seems to have been worked out
whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This
meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning
help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assur-
ance that at night the sound of the *kalikall* could be heard. A
[534] *kalikall* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn
and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was
[502] blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast.
When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to inter-
cept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity
of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic con-
siderations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a
limited number of points.

361 At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect
574 little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire
of each household to live in private on his own particular
piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly re-
spected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another
person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are
made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush
fervently at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to
discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts,
[576] "*Mari, mari, papai*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grand-
mother"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they
respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply
the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that some-
one is home.

484 The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance
travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particu-
[492] lar, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very
[493] much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a
considerable distance they generally ride in an oncart, with a
male relative or companion as driver. As was previously
● 491 stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

tion, and those leading to the Chilean towns or from one reduction to another are little more than wagon trails, unsurfaced, ungraded, and rarely kept in repair. Ordinarily, they can be used by oxcart except in the rainy season, when they are passable, if at all, only on horseback (Pl. V, Fig. 1).

One of the factors that has served to augment the isolation of Mapuche reservations is the increase of fences. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of large *fundos*, which are likely to be completely enclosed, thus forcing travelers to make long detours.

Throughout the area the hardships of winter travel are most clearly manifested in cases of severe illness. Our attention was called to numerous instances of people from Cholchol who, when stricken with appendicitis, had to travel several hours on horseback to reach a hospital. We also witnessed a very dramatic event on the night of July 5, 1948, when an Araucanian young woman attempted suicide by shooting herself in the stomach. About a dozen men took turns in wretched weather to carry her twenty miles in an improvised litter to the mission hospital in Cholchol. She was given first aid and ordered to go to Nueva Imperial for further treatment. This necessitated another long journey over miserable roads in a small cart. We were unable to learn whether or not the patient survived the trip, for a storm blew down Cholchol's telephone connections.

FOOD HABITS

The preparation of food is a principal concern of the women. Wheat is the main staple; most commonly it is ground to flour and parched or toasted to make *mürke*. It is then usually stirred into hot or cold water to form a gruel or porridge that is called *chaiken* if salted, and *wilpud* or *ullpud* if sweetened. Wheat flour is also mixed with water, salt, and leavening to prepare a dough that is baked in hot ashes to make a tortilla-like bread called *remulkofke*. Occasionally, too, bread dough is fried in deep fat, in the form of a large circular roll (*iwinkofke*) that has a crisp crust and a soft interior.

Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the

slopes of the Andes on the east. This area is characterized by many picturesquely rounded hills, no one of which rises very high above sea level. Throughout much of the year one may see in the distance as many as eight snow-capped volcanic peaks on the eastern horizon, among them the renowned Llaima and Villarica. One outstanding feature of this zone is the Cautín River Valley, and another is the valley of the Cholchol. The Cholchol River and its tributaries flow through much of the region under study, and at Nueva Imperial the Cholchol joins the main branch of the Cautín (Map 2).

Most of the trade contacts of Cautinche, Carrarríne, and Renaco are with the Chilean community at Cholchol, which can be reached by unimproved dirt roads. A considerable amount of traffic goes by oxcart in dry weather, but in the rainy winter months travel is limited to horseback. Many transactions also take place in Nueva Imperial, which is a much larger commercial center than Cholchol. This city may be reached in the usual fashion, except for the need of crossing the Cholchol River at Los Boldos (Map 2). A flat raft, pulled hand over hand along a steel cable by passengers and "crew" (Pl. V, Fig. 2), makes necessary crossings, except when the river is in flood. Nueva Imperial is situated on the branch line of a railroad that connects with the main line at Temuco, a thriving frontier city of more than 40,000 inhabitants, which is the capital of Cautín Province and is the largest business center in the territory under consideration. Indians from many neighboring reservations visit Temuco regularly, and in fair weather it can be reached from Cholchol by horseback in four to five hours and by oxcart in less than a day. A few trucks and an occasional automobile travel between Cholchol and Temuco with passengers and freight, when road conditions permit. In May, 1948, members of the Temuco flying club began to provide occasional air service to and from Cholchol in a small, single-engined plane. A large crowd gathered on the town's soccer field (Pl. VI, Fig. 2) to watch the landing of the plane when Miss Dorothea Royce, head of the Misión Araucana's hospital, became the first passenger to fly out of Cholchol. Thereafter, for the few who could avail themselves of the service, Cholchol became only fifteen

One other case that is somewhat irregular because it involves 591
an instance of matrilocal residence deserves mention. Santiago
Huircan, owner of House No. 6, is only distantly related to
Cautinche's founder. He was born in Catrimalal and lived there
until about 1938. At that time his wife, who is the daughter of
Juan Antinao's brother, inherited some eighteen hectares at
Cautinche. Thereupon, the couple moved to Cautinche and
Santiago began to farm on his wife's land. There is no feeling of
strangeness towards this family, and they have been completely
accepted by the Cautinche community.

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF CARRARRIFE

Like Cautinche, Carrarrife lies between Chile's coastal ranges 621
and the Andes, and its topography also is featured by gently 037
sloping hills. Here the major drainage is provided by the 133
Cholchol River, which runs close by the eastern boundary of the
reservation. Several streamlets flow across the area, and in the
rainy season the low-lying lands are often flooded. There are
many indications of aboriginally dense forest cover, but the
region is currently bare of trees except where groves of eucalyp-
tus or apple orchards have recently been planted (Frontispiece). 245
Unimproved dirt roads connect Carrarrife with Nueva Imperial 491 •
and Cholchol.

Carrarrife is a much larger reduction than is Cautinche. It 621
contains 1,438 hectares, officially known as parcel or *hijuela*
54 (see Fig. 7). Title to this land is in the name of Antonio
Painemal, who is accordingly the nominal chief. Two adjacent
reservations, Picuta and Tromenguelo (Figs. 7, 8), are so closely
linked with Carrarrife that all three may be regarded as com-
prising a kind of "Greater Carrarrife."¹ It was not possible to
ascertain the true nature of the relationships that exist among
the three districts, but it appears likely that division occurred
at one time or another when reservation boundaries and land
titles were being regularized. A former Carrarrife man, Mulato
Chihuaihuen, is said to have set himself up as an independent

¹ That part of Coigue which is shown on Figure 7 is also said by some
informants to be part of "Greater Carrarrife."

PLATE V



FIG. 1. Winter travel. The main highway linking Cholchol with the rail center at Nueva Imperial, at the height of the rainy season.



FIG. 2. Crossing the Cholchol River at Los Baldos. Passengers and crew haul on the steel cable at the left of the raft.

[end plate 5]

PLATE VI

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FIG. 1. A journey by oxcart from Cautinche to Malalche. The party is en route to the *millatan* at Malalche.

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FIG. 2. The first plane landing at Cholchol. Indians and Chileans nearly obscure the small airplane that marks the end of the "oxcart age."

[end plate 6]

- 301 to fasten the skull. Glass beads, chaquiras, were early imported by the Spaniards, and later displaced the aboriginal llancas. The characteristic large quadrangular metal ear pendants (chapell, tūpū) are clearly recorded as early as the middle of the 17th century (Rosales, 1877-78, 1:159); the wheel-shaped ones, still earlier (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 47).

In the 19th century, the number and variety of silver and beaded women's adornments (as described in detail by, e. g., Moesbach, 1936, pp. 213-14, and others)—necklaces, bracelets, anklets, finger rings, ear pendants, brooches, buckles, and so forth—was very great. In general, however, this represents the final phase of a gradual evolution from a much simpler style of women's adornment current at the time of first White contact, an evolution marked by the substitution of glass chaquiras (beads) for the native llancas, by more and more widespread use of silver, and by the luxuriant growth of new forms of both bead and silver "jewelry."

TRANSPORTATION

- 491 Land transportation.—There were no roads such as were common in Inca territory, but only trails. Bridges (kuikui) consisted merely of a log or several logs spanning small streams. The tumpline and fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. 482 The llamas served as a pack animal; the dog was not so used. 492 Soon after the coming of the Spaniard, the Mapuche-Huilliche took to horse riding. (Cf. supra under Domesticated Animals, p. 704).

- 501 Water transportation.—Three chief types of watercraft were used by the Mapuche-Huilliche: the plank boat, the dugout, and the reed balsa. As Lothrop (1932, p. 253) points out, all three were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern.

[298] Plank boats (dalca, piragua) of 3 planks were found in large number [294] among the Araucanian-speaking people of Coronados Gulf when first encountered by Cortés Hojesa in 1558 (Goicueta, 1852, p. 91). Plank boats, while more characteristic of the Chilotans and southern mainland Huilliche, were also observed farther north (Ofa, canto 10, 1917, p. 349, mouth of the Bio-Bio River). The planks were lashed together with fiber rope (of *Chusquea* sp.), which does not rot under water, and caulked with leaves of tiaca (*Caldcluvia paniculata*, according to Medina, 1882, p. 193) and inner bark of maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*). They were propelled by about 8 to 12 rowers, a coxswain steering at the stern with a pole or paddle. In a favorable wind, a sail was set up. Up to the end of the 17th century, the dalca was of only 3 planks, but, in the course of the 18th century, it developed into a 5-plank (Olivares, 1874, p. 371) and later a 7-plank craft. (González de Agüeros, 1791,

501 in the Pacific (pl. 41, 1); the dugout (wampo; Spanish, canoa) (pl. 40, 3) and the raft, the balsa (tari), were used in Cofaripe area to transport persons and loads across rivers.

- 491 In all areas rivers were forded on foot, on horseback, and in oxcarts. Bridges were found only where roads had been built by the Chilean Government or by private lumbering firms. Creeks were forded on foot or were crossed on footbridges consisting of one or several logs at convenient places.

484 [462] It is a man's duty, in general, to do the family selling, buying, and trading; consequently men travel greater distances than do women and children. A few men informants of all areas had traveled as far as Santiago (a day and night trip on a local train); no women had. All men informants had been to the largest trading center near their area: for Alepúe area, Valdivia (49,000 population); for Panguipulli and Cofaripe areas, Villarrica (4,600); for Boroa area, Nueva Imperial (6,600). Many women in Boroa had been to Nueva Imperial, their nearest large city; only a few women in Alepúe, Panguipulli, and Cofaripe areas had been to their respective large centers. Of 21 children in an Alepúe school, all but one girl had been to San José de Mariquina, the nearest trading center, a distance of 3 to 4 hours on horseback. Half of the boys had been to Lanco, a greater distance; one-third, to Lancoche, still farther away; but none of the girls had been to either of these places.

TRADE, EXCHANGE, AND CURRENCY

437 Bartering, as in former days, is still the prevailing form of trade among the Araucanians themselves. "When we were married, we were very poor," said a 60-year-old Cofaripe woman. "We cleared a piece of land and planted wheat in it. At harvest time I exchanged for cows and sheep with Mapuche around here, who were in need of wheat, all the wheat that we could spare. Soon we had a number of animals, and that is how we got our start." A man in the same area exchanged a horse for two and a half sacks of wheat—a sack approximated a hundred kilograms. A woman was seen exchanging sugar for both wheat and flour; another paid for yerba maté with a hen. Children in all areas were seen bartering, among themselves, such things as marbles for tops, pencils for paper, tortillas for other things.

426 Borrowing, too, was done in all areas. Such needed things as axes, hoes, screwdrivers, plows, oxcarts, hats, needles, kettles, were being borrowed. Unfailingly things borrowed were returned. Families helped each other out with sugar and flour; equal amounts were returned when a new supply was obtained.

however, conversant with the literature of early travelers in South America say that trade was carried on with these peoples, especially the Guarani; that the Guarani, living in what is now southern Brazil and Paraguay, plied the tributaries to the delta of the La Plata River trading with the Araucanians who lived among them. That trade existed with peoples to the north, possibly the Quechua and Aymara, is conjectured, also, because recently airplane pilots who flew the length of the Andes in Argentina reported having observed what may have been a pre-Columbian trade route between the Araucanians as far south as Bariloche and the Aymara and Quechua in what is Peru and Bolivia today. In more recent times trade was carried on mainly across the Andes. 439

Passes across the Andes of the early days, still used by Araucanians today, are the Vuriloche Pass in the Bariloche area; the Tromen Pass from Junin de los Andes (Argentina) to Pucón (Chile); and one from Zapala area (Argentina) to El Arco (Chile). (Cf. also pp. 261-262 on passes through the Andes.) A footpath along the shores of Lake Quillen is said to be nearly a yard deep. The Vuriloche Pass, because of its low altitude, was the one generally used for the transfer of cattle. Kolupan had helped to drive cattle for sale from his home on the pampa through the passes of the Cordillera into Chile. Swamps in any pass were bridged by trees felled for the purpose. Old people had heard in their youth of a tunnel that led under the Andes. On the Argentine side it was entered at Lake Negro or Cajon Negro. "People have looked for it in recent times, but cannot find it." 439

Most frequently trading was by barter. Cattle sold to Araucanians or Whites in Chile, however, were paid for in silver coins known as pesos fuertes (the size of an American silver dollar). Since there was no immediate use for silver, except in making silver ornaments, the pesos fuertes were often either stored in caves or buried. One such cave is said to be on Estancia Huechahue. "Much of the silver could probably be found, but no one today knows where it was buried; the men who buried it have all died," said Kolupan. Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians noted that silver found in Chile in the early days was brought there in trade by the Quechua and the Aymara; that gold, which was used in trade much later than silver, was mined in what is now Argentina, one gold mine having existed in Chos Malal. 439

Although trade today is still often by barter, Argentine currency is a necessity. At the time the present study was being made, items bought with currency by Araucanians were clothing, sugar, yerba maté, flour, kitchen utensils, schoolbooks, wine, araucaria nuts, and dyes. Currency, too, is needed to pay dentist and doctor bills. Articles, 436

INTRODUCTION

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from the forests by oxcart and truck to be cured at railroad sidings before shipment to Temuco and beyond.

Lakes Villarrica and Budi are the largest bodies of water in the province. Lake Budi is saline. Both lakes are fished commercially, mostly by Chileans. Two major river systems — the Cautín-Imperial in the northern part of the province and the Toltén in the south — cut across Cautín Province from east to west. Along these rivers are all-weather roads, spur lines from the central railroad, and towns.

Mapuche territory was first reduced through force of arms, after many unsuccessful attempts, and, after pacification, has been reallocated through the force of political action. Some of the important steps in this process are clearly revealed in documented history. I would like to indicate a few of these in a general historical statement about Mapuche society.

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE HISTORICAL RECORD

The earliest reports about the Mapuche are found in Peruvian chronicles, as a result of Inca interest in colonizing central Chile and Peruvian-based Spanish attempts to succeed where the Inca had failed. But well-documented Mapuche history begins only after the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards had constructed garrison settlements in Chile and came into sustained contact with the Indians south of the Bío Bío River. The Spaniards quickly defeated the sparse Picunche (northern Araucanian) population and absorbed them into the sphere of colonial society which radiated from Santiago. Within the first century of colonization the Picunche had ceased to exist as a distinct social or ethnic entity.³

When the Spaniards attempted to extend their control over the Mapuche, they met with initial success. Vast *encomiendas* were granted to deserving conquistadores, and placer mines around Concepción, Imperial, and Villarrica were worked for gold by Indian labor. The rigors of *encomienda* life were such that in 1562, after a number of local skirmishes, the Mapuche staged their first general uprising and drove the Spaniards to the periphery of their territory. For more than 200 years afterward the Mapuche were considered fair game for puni-

³ Details of colonization in the jurisdiction of Santiago, involving a consideration of the systems of *encomienda*, *mita*, *reducción*, and *corregimiento*, are synthesized in Faron, 1960:233-307.

11: Faron E-5 (1952-1954) 1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4 Mapuche

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MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

311 in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades.
433 Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, large-
433 ly through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situ-
[622] ation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average
figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than
half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another
resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control
only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will
be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucania is that land becomes

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Map 11

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo, and the former settlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Originally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from the other houses — that of the original chief. All houses were built on *altura* land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

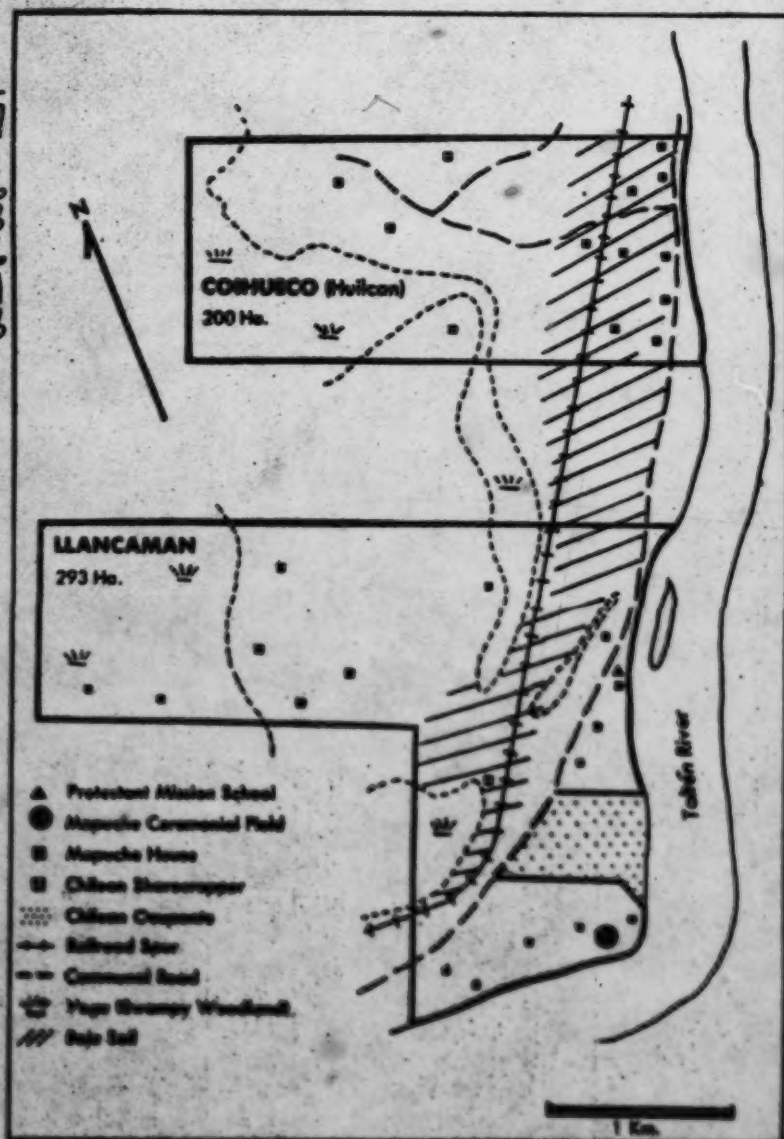
The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Religious ceremonies were held in the "deep wood" within reservation limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an expanding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequently used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation, double the original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to 88, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families. The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been mentioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual — less than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large-scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population increases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will eventually be put under production. One way this could happen is through government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery [E.C. LLANCAMAN -- ANALYST]

11: Faron E-5 (1952-1954) 1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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[622]
[613] with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

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[423] The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency — as they are occasionally during emergencies — when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working *mingaco*, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

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[241] *Mingacos* are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders — the household heads. In general, if *mingaco* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

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[264] (murke) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

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[312] Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

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[420] Most threshing is done by machine today and mingaco arrangements are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucanía machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region [292] machines were rare and large mingacos were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples [535] dancing to the sibilant tone of the pifilka and traditional Mapuche songs.

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[613] Mingacos are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing operations in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of

lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coreidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruins is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large rakes or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the ditch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joins

tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the Indians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy land, kerosene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate (Paraguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in *oscuras*. A single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to pay in *contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few shopkeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are known to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain credit through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the postharvest season to in-